

1963

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

16721

"The situation (in the hemisphere) is not for sitting to ruminate brilliant concepts, but to make revolutions."

ACTION URGED

It was commenting on a speech by Premier Castro, urging more action and less talk in the drive for revolution. He also asked his admirers to "create subjective conditions" which would trigger the upheavals in Latin America, which he feels is ripe for them.

Marxist-Leninist theoreticians claim the working classes of a nation will eventually overthrow their exploiters and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. These creeds were developed in the days of the European industrial revolution, giving little or no thought to Latin America.

There being no large proletariat in Latin America, the shortest way to a Red future is revolution, Cuban leaders feel.

BETANCOURT ASSAILED

Most followers of Premier Castro appear confident President Betancourt soon will fall. The armed forces of the "National Liberation Front" of Venezuela are prominently featured in the Havana press. The reader is left wondering what keeps President Betancourt in power.

Deputy Premier Raul Castro has said "the Cuban revolution is the revolution of 200 million Latin Americans."

What Cuba is doing to export revolution in Latin America was indicated in a statement by John A. McCone, head of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, made public in Washington last week. Mr. McCone said from 1,000 to 1,500 went to Cuba in 1962 for training as guerrillas and more went this year. Mr. McCone said most came from Venezuela, Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Argentina, and Bolivia.

Many Western diplomats believe the Cuban leaders have told Communist parties in Latin America: either share Havana's revolution view and count on Cuban support or fall back on peaceful coexistence and lose Premier Castro's favor.

Premier Castro has already censured some unnamed parties who ignored his "Second Declaration of Havana," a document described as the "Castro-Communist manifesto of the Americas."

A diplomat illustrated it this way: "The future of the Cuban revolution depends on the fact that Cuba, 'first socialist country in the Americas, does not become the last one.'"

CAUTION INDICATED

Another one said that although voicing admiration for his movement, not many Latin American Communist Parties feel like following the Castro example. They prefer to live in peaceful coexistence with other parties, frequently forming "popular fronts."

It was noted last week that while Brazilian President Leao leader, Francisco Juliao, said there was "no other exit but armed struggle" in Latin America, Luis Prestes, secretary of Brazil's Communist Party, also in Havana at the time, chose to remain silent.

CALLED ANARCHISTS

Said a visiting Communist: "Since Stalin's death the Communist Parties in the Americas have worked to attain a political respectability. Most have been successful. Why change now?"

He mentioned the Venezuelan case, saying the Communists there stood in danger of being outlawed because of their identification with terrorists. He added quickly: "The Venezuelan party is not really Communist but anarchist. It lacks leadership."

Premier Castro was at odds with the Soviet Union on the handling of the Cuban crisis. The Russians could now be trying to avoid a collision on a question which could be discussed further on.

"Communists obey Moscow, and with their 40 years of experience in political matters will not follow blindly Havana's lam," said a visiting South American lawyer.

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Jan. 19, 1963]

HALT GUERRILLAS, HONDURAS ASKED

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA.—The Government of Nicaragua has informally called on Honduras to eliminate what it described as a Castro guerrilla force there awaiting a chance to invade.

Nicaragua made no formal demand, but the statement reminded Honduras of its obligation. The communique said the Castro groups are distributing antigovernment propaganda in Nicaragua and using a small plane to sabotage canefields in Carazo Province.

Meanwhile, the head of the political party opposing the government criticized U.S. support of dictators such as President Luis Somoza, of Nicaragua.

Dr. Fernando Aguero said such support is partly to blame for the leftist inclinations of many university students.

Earlier this week, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States issued a statement which said it deplores Nicaragua's refusal to let the commission meet there this month.

The commission message added that it intended to determine whether human rights are being violated in Nicaragua, and that it particularly would keep an eye on the February elections.

[From Cuban Newsletter]

Castro is sending arms to the frontier regions of Brazil and Venezuela, for delivery to Red guerrillas, according to Scripps-Howard Editor Richard Boyce. The dispatch, datelined Georgetown, British Guiana, said 16 known airfields were receiving the hardware from Cuba, and many more are scattered in recondite jungle areas. American submachineguns, issued to Batista forces in 1958, showed up in the recent disturbances in British Guiana. They could only come from Cuba. This is precisely what President Kennedy said that the United States would not tolerate in the hemisphere. But there he is, tolerating.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR KEATING

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KEATING. I yield.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. I congratulate the distinguished junior Senator from New York for his clear, concise statement in support of the ratification of the treaty.

I also wish to congratulate him on the anniversary, today, of the passage by Congress of the joint resolution on Cuba. We are all aware of the diligence and persistence with which the junior Senator from New York pursued this subject until the purpose was accomplished.

I also wish to commend him for ably filling the role of Chaplain yesterday morning, when he opened the Senate with prayer. The Senator from New York is an outstanding and worthwhile statesman.

Mr. KEATING. I am most grateful to my dear colleague for his kind remarks. They mean much to me.

FOREIGN SHIPMENTS TO CUBA

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I have spoken several times since the beginning of this session of Congress about our problems in this hemisphere as they relate to shipments to the island of Cuba. At one time, the U.S. Government enforced a strong blockade, following the October 1962, incident with Cuba. Then

there was a relaxation, and an attempt was made to discourage ships of the free world from trading with Cuba. I must suggest it has been a serious attempt, with some progress made on the part of the administration, the Department of State, and the President. In many cases, the contracts for delivery had previously been made, and the ships were making deliveries.

The United States has notified the governments of the free world which allow their ships to enter Cuba that those ships would not be allowed to enter American ports and discharge or load American cargo.

This has had an effect on some nations and on some of the ships that had been entering Cuba. However, it does not affect all of them, because in many cases the ships do not come, or do not care to come, to United States ports. Some nations have joined with the United States in the attempt to discourage shipping to Cuba, and there has been a gradual enclosure of maritime activities into and out of the island by the nations of the free world, although not sufficient, so far as I personally am concerned, in accordance with my views. In all fairness, however, I must say that some progress has been made.

In many cases, the nations involved have little or no control over the ships that may be flying their flags. Sometimes a ship may fly the flag of Panama, of Greece, or of another country, yet never touch any of the ports of the country whose flag they fly or the country in which the ship is registered. So there are complexities.

However, I am hopeful that the nations of the free world will continue their efforts to discourage such shipping to the point where there will be a complete economic blockade, with perhaps only the rare exception of a shipment of medical supplies or similar shipments.

Some of the unions and union leaders, whom I mentioned in previous remarks concerning agreements that have been made for future relations in the maritime industry, have been urging their fellow workers in other parts of the world not to load ships destined for Cuba. There have been some memorable examples of refusal to load such ships. Nevertheless, the practice is still occurring.

Occasionally, I have placed in the RECORD, when the information has been made available to me, lists of ships from the free world that have been plying into and out of Cuba. I have listed the names of the ships, their gross tonnage, and the flags they fly. This information has been supplied not only for the benefit of Congress and the American people, but also for the benefit of representatives of those countries in Washington. Our hope has been that much more might be done to improve the situation than is being done.

Today I wish to place in the RECORD a list of free world and Polish-flag ships that have entered and departed from Cuba since January 1, 1963. The list contains the names of the ships, their tonnage, and their flag registry.

16720

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

September 20

minican Republic and processed them through the closely guarded arsenal.

Batista's armed forces operated almost entirely with U.S.-made weapons. During Castro's 2-year hit-and-run guerrilla war against the Batista forces, most of his rebel arms also came from the United States.

When the Batista regime was toppled, his weapons warehouses are reported to have contained about 9,000 M-1 Garand rifles, 2,500 Thompson submachineguns, 1,500 carbines, 6,000 automatic pistols (45 caliber), 1,000 Dominican San Cristobal rifles and a relatively small number of British Enfield rifles.

Cuba got the U.S. weapons under hemispheric mutual defense pacts, supervised by the Inter-American Defense Board.

The United States formerly maintained a military mission in Cuba to instruct the armed forces in use of the armaments. The mission was withdrawn at Castro's request shortly after he came to power in January 1959.

Until Castro received large shipments of rifles from Belgium in 1959 and subsequent heavy supplies of Soviet bloc arms, particularly automatic weapons from Czechoslovakia, the U.S. weapons that fell in his hands were used by his armed forces and early militia units.

Cuba's military muscle now has been standardized with all Soviet and Czech firepower, functioning under a Czech-style table of organization created late last year with the guidance of an imported Spanish-born Communist military strategist, "Gen." Enrique Lister.

NEXT TO ARSENAL FOR INSPECTION

Upon completion of the standardization, Castro and Guevara ordered all "foreign" weapons delivered to the new Matanzas Arsenal for "repairs, inspection, and storage." The word "foreign" in Cuba today is synonymous with the United States.

The storage phase of the directive has been brief, according to the intelligence findings.

From the arsenal-depot the revitalized U.S. weapons are shipped directly to other Latin America points or moved first to terminals in Havana, Cienfuegos and Santiago.

Ongoing launches are the principal means of transportation for the weapons destined for Castro's subversive agents. Some have gone by air.

Shipments usually are small, sometimes packed carefully among general cargo and hidden between bags of exported sugar.

U.S. Navy destroyers and destroyer escorts still maintain an arms smuggling patrol off the Caribbean coast of Central America.

Some of Castro's smuggling boats are known to have eluded the patrol. A few others have been allowed to "escape" for surveillance purposes.

Last month U.S. intelligence agents observed one shipment of U.S. weapons from Cuba secreted into a secluded Pacific coast area of Nicaragua.

A Cuban ship in the 3,500-ton class, working its way down Mexican west coast ports with general cargo, one dark night slipped into the Gulf of Fonseca, a deepwater harbor which touches the coasts of Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua.

Three small motorboats drifted alongside the Cuban ship and boxes were lowered into them. The shipments weighed close to a ton. Each small boat eased away bearing loads weighing between 600 and 700 pounds.

Manning the small unlighted boats were fishermen from the tiny Salvadorean island of Meanguera, where the Cuban packages were hidden until colleagues set up transfer of the weapons to the Nicaraguan coastal town of Chinandega.

Once in Chinandega the shipment was taken over by about 20 men who smuggled

it into the mountains for distribution to peasant supporters.

Intelligence sources learned that this particular shipment, typical of others reaching the Central American area from the Matanzas Arsenal, was about 100 U.S. M-1 rifles, a small number of 45-caliber automatic pistols and submachineguns, a substantial number of boxes of .30- and .45-caliber ammunition, and an undetermined number of cases of grenades.

In Central America, as elsewhere along the Castro subversion path, the idea appears to be that the U.S.-made weapons provide an almost perfect cover from detection by Latin American authorities.

Smuggling of Cuba's Czech-made arms would be a certain giveaway to the source of supply.

On the Caribbean side of the Central American coastline, the report notes that the most probable relay point for the Cuban smuggling is a tiny key near the island of Cozumel, just south of the eastern tip of Mexico's Yucatan peninsula.

PERU INFILTRATED WITH SMALL ARMS

U.S. intelligence also has gathered information about clandestine shipments of small arms into Peru recently by way of Bolivia and Brazil smuggling networks.

Close study is being given to reports reaching the intelligence analysts that occasional small arms shipments are being delivered by Soviet bloc ships putting in at Mexican, Colombian, Ecuadorian and Brazilian ports and at Georgetown, British Guiana, after sailing from Havana.

So far there has not been a hard confirmation of the Soviet involvement.

The violent but short-lived rebellion against the Venezuelan Government of President Romulo Betancourt last month at Carupano was linked to Castro's spreading subversion operations.

It is believed by Venezuelan and United States intelligence that the weapons used by the pro-Castro-Communist forces against the Betancourt regime probably came from the Matanzas arsenal. The anti-Betancourt forces were well stocked with U.S.-made weapons.

Guerrilla forces operating in southern and eastern Venezuela also are believed to have been supplied with armaments from Castro's "surplus" stockpile.

Some of the weapons are said to have been smuggled into Venezuela from Cuba by way of British Guiana, whose Premier Cheddi Jagan is an ardent supporter of Castro and Communist Cuba.

Also linked to the Cuban arms exporting activities are guerrilla fighters harassing the backlands of Colombia.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 31, 1963]

CASTRO THESES: REDS TUG AMERICAS

(By Bertram B. Johanson)

An increasing Communist threat to Latin America is ominously indicated as an end result of Premier Fidel Castro's visit to the Soviet Union, now coming to a close.

Texts of speeches and communiques now available disclose specifically how the two Communist countries intend to support so-called national liberation movements in Latin America.

An examination of Premier Castro's speeches in the Soviet Union indicates he has been completely won over to the thesis, if he had not been before, that communism is in the ascendancy in the world today and that capitalism's decay is inevitable.

Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, dilating on the theme, promised military weapons to such "liberation" movements.

In his May 28 speech in Moscow, the Soviet Premier said that "the Soviet Union and all socialist countries see their international duty in rendering all-out support and

comprehensive help to the national liberation movement.

ATTEMPTS REPORTED

"What does it mean to render help to the national liberation movement?" Premier Khrushchev asks proceeding then to answer his own question.

"It means, first of all, to struggle against the interference of imperialism in the internal affairs of peoples of the liberated countries, to lend all-out support, including supply of arms, to the peoples who are waging a just struggle against the foreign yoke. Second, it means to oppose any form of neo-colonialism, to help the peoples of the young states develop the economy of their countries, to lend all-out support to these countries in the international arena."

As an indication this has already begun, there have been three reports by correspondents on the scene in the Dominican Republic of insistent and persistent attempts by Communists to infiltrate the democratically oriented government of President Bosch.

One correspondent asserts that some of these attempts may, indeed, have already succeeded, though others report that rightists have been supporting Communist strikes and then charging the Bosch government has been too tolerant of such strikes.

STRIKE CALLED

In Peru this month, a group of young revolutionaries, including Javier Heraud Perez, a promising poet from a wealthy family, who had all been trained in Cuba in subversive guerrilla techniques, infiltrated back into Peru with weapons, funds, and guerrilla supplies.

When they attempted to shoot their way through a hotel lobby in the jungle village of Puerto Maldonado near the Bolivian border, two were killed and the others captured and killed in the next few days.

In British Guiana where Marxist Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan has attempted to rush through legislation giving the government the power to choose labor unions that would negotiate with employers, democratically oriented labor unions have called a general strike which now enters its seventh week.

PRISONER ESCAPES

Thus far, Prime Minister Jagan has shown no signs of yielding on the issue. Garbage has begun to pile up in the streets of Georgetown, the mails are going awry, foodstuffs are in short supply, and the British Marines are on hand to head off torrid riots such as occurred there last year.

In Caracas, Venezuela, where Communist terrorists have carried on a campaign to destroy confidence in the Betancourt government, another instance of what police have to deal with occurred Tuesday.

Winston Bermudez Machado, a pro-Communist student, held for stealing \$500,000 worth of French impressionist paintings from a French Government exhibit in Caracas, obtained permission to enter a courthouse bathroom, before his trial, disguised himself there as a woman, and calmly walked out past his guards to freedom.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 8, 1963]

CASTRO STIRS REVOLUTION

HAVANA.—Cuba's leaders are predicting that all Latin America will fall under the red banner of communism before long. For one, they believe the days of President Betancourt of Venezuela are numbered.

But their course of action has run into resistance from other Latin-American Communists who prefer peaceful coexistence for the moment.

In the words of the Cuban leaders, the times call for action, not theories. As Premier Fidel Castro's newspaper *Revolucion* put it:

1963

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18719

Cuban subversives and British Guiana are two points of friction.

The United States Wednesday asked Britain publicly to stop allowing "potential subversives" from Cuba to land on Grand Cayman Island, a British island north of Cuba.

Richard I. Phillips, State Department press officer, said some 15 to 20 persons had landed in Grand Cayman in three Soviet-made Bysushin planes, and immediately transferred to other lines taking them to points in the Caribbean and Central America.

The British Government Thursday conceded that Fidel Castro's Cuba may be using the British-owned island to get subversives into Latin American countries, and said authorities were investigating.

PERSONAL OPINION

It is difficult at this stage to determine whether the United States made the Grand Cayman announcement to chide the British in public for alleged laxity with Cuban "subversives," or simply to demonstrate that U.S. intelligence services were well aware of the movement of subversives around the Caribbean.

The issues would appear to boil down to U.S. impatience with Britain over issues of Marxism and communism in the Caribbean.

The U.S. announcement followed by only a few days the earlier statement that the Kennedy administration was refusing financial aid to Marxist Prime Minister Obedi Jagan in British Guiana on South America's northern coast, sandwiched between Venezuela, Dutch Guiana, and Brazil.

LEADERS CONSULTED

On Thursday in London, the Daily Herald, a Labor newspaper, declared that President Kennedy "is not being helpful over British Guiana. If the British Government takes their line from him, the same mistakes will be made in this strife-torn colony that the Americans made in Cuba."

"British Guiana desperately needs foreign aid. Only America is in a position to give it on a massive scale. She has refused," the Daily Herald continued.

"Why? Because the Americans suspect that Dr. Jagan, the Premier of British Guiana, is following Castro's example and drifting into the Communist camp. But the best way to make sure that the drift goes on is to leave British Guiana to stew in her own juice. If the West will not help, the Communists will. It is as simple as that," the Daily Herald said.

CONTRASTING MOVES

Duncan Sandys, British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, is in British Guiana now, conferring with government and opposition leaders. He waited before going there until the 90-day general strike concluded last week.

Two weeks ago, the diplomatic correspondent of The Times (London) wrote, in its June 29 issue, apparently after a Foreign Office briefing, that "it is understood that the U.S. Government has been urging the British Government to suspend the constitution under which British Guiana enjoys internal self-government and revert to direct colonial government, while British ministers are asking for a substantial increase in economic aid for British Guiana from the United States."

"The critical situation in British Guiana, which, according to several reports, is on the brink of civil war, has arisen from the strike."

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 30, 1963]

CASTRO BROADENS WESTERN TARGETS

(By Bertram E. Johanson)

Premier Fidel Castro's warning to the French and British not to allow their Caribbean islands to be used for Cuban exile attack bases is being weighed in Washington

in the light of a new sockiness the Cuban leader has shown since his Soviet visit.

While there is a tendency to discount his remarks as mere bravado—they were made June 18 at the dedication of a new fleet of Soviet and other fishing vessels at Cárdenas—there are indications the Cuban leader is broadening his attack on imperialism to include agencies other than the United States.

Premier Castro referred to reports that Cuban spies allegedly were negotiating with President de Gaulle of France for deploying from French islands in the Caribbean. He warned that he would seek whatever means necessary to defend Cuba. This was taken to mean further Soviet aid.

RAVING INSURER

There have been reports, also, that French-speaking Haitian exiles have offered to join forces with Cuban exiles in destroying the Duvalier dictatorship and then taking on Cuba, using Haiti as a base.

Ever since the Cuban leader's return from his 40-day trip in the Soviet Union, he has displayed new confidence in his "secure" position.

His June 4 radio and television interview in Havana, texts of which are not available, are most revealing of this confidence of complete Soviet backing, his assertion that Cuba was the victor in the October 1962 missile confrontation, his conviction of the economic superiority of the Socialist camp, and his high impression of Premier Khrushchev as a political and economic genius.

Referring to the possibility of talks with the United States to "normalize" Cuban-United States relations, Premier Castro says he will accept no preconditions to the talks but would set several himself, because, after all, he asserted, the United States was the loser in October and November.

"They [the United States] prepared subversions," he said in his June 4 interview, "and we combated them. We crushed them. They prepared counterrevolutionary bands supplied with arsenals of weapons; and we put them out of action. They prepared invasions, and they have been obliged to pay a modest indemnity for all that [in the prisoner exchange]."

SOVIET IMPRESSIONS

"They persisted in their plans for aggression, and they found themselves on the brink of destruction as a result. Discredit, headaches, and now hundreds of millions in currency [in higher sugar prices that must be paid by Americans] as a result of their aggressions against us."

"Is their policy not bankrupt? Yes, it is. Who failed? They have. Who won? We have won. Ah. The defeated are going to impose conditions on the victors. What a policy."

Premier Castro, engaged in constructing a monolithic Communist Party in Cuba, was impressed with the unity which the party instilled in the Soviet Union.

He was impressed with Soviet subways and said "I know the New York subway, and really it does not even approach the Kiev subway."

ON PEACEFUL SIDE

He was impressed with Soviet development of its "immense resources of Siberia. But," he adds, "they are not developing it as the United States West was developed—by cowboys, shots, dead people, assaults, and dead Indians. No, they are developing with extraordinary order. These are not people killing others, but closely united and organized."

Premier Castro observed that organization in Cuba was in the "toddler stage."

Asked about what conditions might be like when all political revolutions were finished, Premier Castro told his interviewers:

"At times I wonder what I would like to be

if I were not a revolutionary, or even while being a revolutionary, what I would like to be. I would like to be an investigator [or researcher]. Why? Because one can revolutionize nature, and to a small degree create a variety of plants, animals, anything in the field of agriculture, and also in the field of physics and chemistry. A perpetual revolution must be waged by man in all matters."

For Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, the Cuban Premier reserved special praise.

He said he had a "magnificent impression" of him.

PERSONAL VIEW

"In reality," said Premier Castro, "Comrade Khrushchev dedicated an amount of time to us that can be said was the full 40 days we were there [in the Soviet Union]. . . . He was a special attention, affectionate toward our entire delegation. . . . The thing that impressed me most was the extraordinarily human character of Comrade Khrushchev. . . . He has an extraordinary mental energy, and a complete, complete, complete, mental lucidity. He is without doubt one of the most brilliant intellects that I have ever known. That is the opinion I formed after entire days spent conversing and discussing with him. . . . He showed a great preoccupation for all the problems connected with today's situation, the domestic tasks in the Soviet Union, the national problems, and politics and the international Communist movement. I can say that I saw Khrushchev really preoccupied, really worried about all the problems related to the problems of the unity of the Socialist camp . . . great leader and a serious adversary of imperialism."

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, June 8, 1963]

CUBA SENDS ARMS FOR LATIN REVOLTS

(By Hal Mendrix)

Communist Cuba has established a secret weapons arsenal in Matanzas Province and is exporting surplus U.S. arms from it to guerrilla forces in Central and South America, President Kennedy has been advised in a hard intelligence report.

Weeks of probing, including undetected cloak-and-dagger surveillance of one recent shipment of weapons smuggled from Cuba into Nicaragua, went into preparation of the report, the Miami News learned yesterday.

The highly classified document, written especially for President Kennedy, pinpointed clandestine movements of rifles, pistols, and automatic weapons and ammunition from four Cuban dispersal centers to nine Latin American nations—Nicaragua, Honduras, Venezuela, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Bolivia.

Accompanying the smuggled arms have been hundreds of copies of a manual written by Maj. Ernesto (Che) Guevara, entitled "La Guerra de Guerrillas," a handbook on Communist-style guerrilla warfare.

The Argentine-born Guevara is a key strategist for international communism in Cuba.

The presidential intelligence report noted that the arsenal in Matanzas was set up last February on orders of Guevara.

Its sole mission was to serve as a collection center and reconditioning depot for surplus U.S.-made weapons in Cuba, and shipping point for Latin American subversion.

Since the depot-arsenal began operations nearly all the U.S.-made weapons and ammunition Fidel Castro inherited from the Batista regime have been moved into the facility for reconditioning and packing for shipment to pro-Castro elements abroad.

ALSO GET SURVIVORS, SOVIETIAN ARMS

Along with the U.S. armaments, the Castro forces have rounded up all available weapons of British manufacture and rifles from the San Cristobal arms factory in the Do-

1963

leaders, but this was quickly offset by the escape of eight FALN figures from a maximum security prison.

The escape, together with a daring FALN attempt on the life of Venezuela's defense minister, 2 weeks ago, is said to have infuriated the military.

Until recently the armed forces had stayed out of politics, but now they are thought to be considering steps to rid the country of terrorism.

In the process, it is felt, they would take over the Government.

Ranking Venezuelan military officers have held several closed meetings. After one of these it was confirmed that the military had met with President Betancourt. Newspapers reported Betancourt had been given an ultimatum to act strongly against the terrorists or accept the consequences.

The Government admitted that Betancourt had conferred with the officers but only on "routine matters." It also has said that Betancourt will soon address the country, spelling out strict measures to hold the terrorists in check. To date, however, there has been no speech.

NO DANGER

Meanwhile, the Minister of Defense declared that there is no danger. He said that although the military had resolved to protect democratic processes, it would take no steps that would threaten the upcoming elections.

The statement is being received with reservations. Observers admit that many officers wish to remain outside political activities. But they feel that a group of younger officers is putting pressure on their superiors to take action.

It is believed that if the FALN continues its attacks on military installations, the armed forces will move.

UNDECLARED WAR

Jovito Villalba, a leading opposition presidential candidate, said today that Venezuela is in "a state of undeclared war" and that the threat of a military uprising cannot be overlooked.

"Venezuela is too young a democracy," Villalba said. "We are only 5 years old in this respect and we have no traditions to help carry us through this trying period."

Villalba, who heads the far-left Republican Democratic Union Party (URD), said "I have called upon all political parties, including the Communists, to join in signing a mutual pact to condemn terrorism," he said.

But observers point out that it is the Communists who are the prime movers behind the terrorism.

The Reds hope to provoke a coup, a military one would suffice, after which the moderates would be forced to join the extreme left to regain control. From here the relatively small extreme left wing would move from a position of influence to complete power.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 18, 1963]
LATINS AT U.N. DISTURBED AS CUBA INCREASES EFFORTS TO STIR REVOLT

(By Henry Raymond)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., September 17.—Latin American delegates to the General Assembly are disturbed over what they describe as a new impetus in Cuba's efforts to incite a hemisphere-wide Communist revolution.

The belief is that never before has the regime of Premier Fidel Castro been so blatant in promoting armed uprisings in Latin American countries, most of which are politically and socially restive.

The chief Cuban delegate, Dr. Carlos M. Lechuaga, said in an interview that Dr. Castro and other leaders who recently spoke out in favor of greater revolutionary militancy in Latin America were merely expressing their

political beliefs, "and surely there is no law against that."

WASHINGTON POLICY BLAMED

The more aggressive tone of the Cuban statements, he contended, was "a direct result" of what he termed Washington's "policy of subversion and harassment" against Cuba.

Many Latin American representatives here, especially those from the nations of Central America and the Caribbean area, which are most exposed to Cuban propaganda, are eager to determine if the new situation poses any threat to their security that may require collective action by the inter-American system.

Daniel Oduber Quirós, Foreign Minister of Costa Rica, suggested that the heads of the Latin American delegations meet during the Assembly session to discuss Communist subversion and propaganda emanating from Cuba.

One difficulty the inter-American system has encountered in dealing with Cuba has been the absence of substantial evidence that Cuba was shipping arms to support insurrections in other Latin American countries.

Lately, however, some diplomats have become convinced that the Organization of American States should take more forceful action to deal with Cuban subversion.

Juan Bautista de Lavalle, Peruvian delegate to the Organization of American States and an international jurist, has been working on a formula that envisions collective sanctions against the Castro regime for inciting and encouraging violence in other countries.

"In criminal law a man who inspires someone else into committing a crime is as guilty as the person who fires the weapon," the Peruvian diplomat said recently. "There is no reason why this principle should not apply in international law to governments inciting insurrection and violence in other countries."

Dr. Castro and his aids have been giving unqualified encouragement to rebel movements in Latin America, especially to the pro-Communist underground in Venezuela, the Armed Forces for National Liberation.

ARMIES URGED TO CONTINUE

In a recent speech, the Cuban Premier urged the Venezuelan rebels to continue their struggle against the left-of-center government of President Romulo Betancourt. He said Cuba did not need to ship them weapons because they were imitating the tactics he used to overthrow President Fulgencio Batista—equipping his forces with weapons seized from the regular army.

One Cuban statement that particularly alarmed some Latin American diplomats was an article by Maj. Ernesto Guevara urging other countries to engage in the same guerrilla tactics that proved successful in Cuba. The article, which appeared in the monthly Cuba Socialist, was broadcast September 9 over the Peiping radio.

Its basic premise was that U.S. efforts to isolate Cuba had made other revolutions in Latin America necessary.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 6, 1963]

CARACAS: TERROR STEP-UP TRACED

(By Bertram B. Johanson)

The extent to which Venezuelan Castro-Communist terrorists have taken matters into their own hands is demonstrated by their executing four of their own number recently in disciplinary sessions in the hills.

The men were executed by the pro-Communist mountain guerrillas after they had tried to desert, according to a fifth guerrilla who escaped and reported the executions to officials at Barquisimeto.

A Venezuelan news agency said the fifth guerrilla told authorities the four men were

lined up before a firing squad in the mountains of Lara State about 2 weeks ago.

The executions coincide with a marked increase in terroristic violence in several areas of Venezuela, aimed at three targets:

1. The downfall of the Betancourt government before it leaves office constitutionally early next year.

2. Prevention of the December 1 presidential elections which would insure constitutional succession in the Presidency for the first time in decades.

FOUL PLAY SOUGHT

3. Laying the groundwork for a development of chaos in Venezuela in which, as in Cuba, Communists would be ready to step in or take advantage of any openings that might develop toward a greater concentration of power in Castro-Communist hands.

Within the past few days Castro-Communist fomenters of violence attacked the home of a presidential guard captain, killing one soldier and wounding another; attacked a Maracaibo police post; and perpetrated two bomb blasts at east coast oil pipelines.

Last week the terrorists captured Alfredo di Stefano, an international soccer star, and held him for 48 hours before releasing him.

Through such stunts, stealing valuable French paintings recently, and hijacking ships, the terrorists seek to obtain maximum publicity for their cause and to embarrass Venezuelan police forces.

LEADER IDENTIFIED

The problem of the Venezuelan police is that they are not highly trained. Most of them had to be changed when the Marcos Pérez Jiménez dictatorship fell, and it is only in recent months that professional police instructors have been teaching Caracas police in crime detection and prevention methods.

Leader of the Castro-Communist terrorists has now been identified by the Interior Ministry as Máximo Canales, a Cuban Communist, who engineered the spectacular hijacking of the Venezuelan freighter *Anzoategui* last February.

Venezuelan authorities consider the most recent flurry of violence and terrorism as a sign of desperation, but Caracas citizens are concerned about the apparent ineffectiveness of police to handle these political juvenile delinquents.

[From the Panama City (Fla.) News, Aug. 21, 1963]

THE MEANING OF ACUÑA KEY

(By Seymour Freidin)

The arrogant Castro Cuban laid on a little Bahama islet the other day was a dry run for bigger combined operations to come. It involves a future Soviet technique aimed at all underdeveloped areas and tempting soft spots.

Actually, it is based on the most mammoth intelligence program in history. Organized carefully, plotted cogently, the Russian aim is to pick off the immense potential in the markets of the underdeveloped world.

They cannot achieve—so they have apparently decided—dominance in these markets with the euphemism of competitive co-existence. In short, their policymakers have decided that the vast and cumbersome Soviet heavy industrial machine cannot compete with that of the United States. Therefore, the answer is planned upheaval, directed by highly skilled agents who build up the apparatus for a takeover in a given territory.

This is not the synthesis of some exile committee, bitter and burdened psychologically with no futures. It is the hard-headed assessment, based on what they claim are indisputable fact, statistics, and operation, of important men who try to advise on the course of policy for this government.

Senate that the treaty should be voted up or down on its merits, with no extraneous material being attached to it, by way of reservations, which are printed and are lying on our desks.

My recollection is that approximately 2 years ago the distinguished Senator from New York was one of the successful sponsors of an amendment to pending legislation with respect to interdicting trade with Cuba. Cuba remains a problem. The question before the Senate is whether an agreement to prohibit testing by way of nuclear explosions, except underground, is in the interest of the American people and in the interest of the people of the world.

I commend the Senator for stressing the fact that in his opinion, and in my opinion, the treaty merits the support of the Senate and of the people of this country, but that no extraneous material ought to be attached to it when the Senate votes on it next Tuesday. I hope it will vote overwhelmingly in favor of it. I congratulate the Senator for the points he has made.

Mr. KEATING. I thank the Senator for his statement. It is extremely important not to complicate the situation by attaching reservations or amendments which might or might not require renegotiation, but certainly would require notice to the other signatories to the treaty.

People have written to me to ask, "Why do you want to be for a treaty that helps the Soviet Union?"

That is not the question. The question is, Does it help the United States? Does it help to prevent the continued pollution of the atmosphere? Does it help to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons by other countries? Certainly its ratification is in the interest of the people of both nations. If, incidentally, it also helps the Soviet Union, certainly we should not be against it for that reason. I do not believe that the fact that it provides incidental benefits for the Soviet Union should be a basis for opposing the treaty.

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator is correct. Human beings, black or white, free or slave, whether they live in America or on the other side of the Iron Curtain, breathe the same air.

Competent scientists who testified before the committee stated that at one point in the testing of nuclear explosions in the atmosphere the danger to mankind becomes inevitable, regardless of the level at which that point is reached.

In my opinion, the Senator is also completely correct with respect to the problem of the proliferation of nuclear nations, about which we read in the press several weeks ago. The Senator from New York made some comments in the Senate to the effect that the United Arab Republic, having obtained some scientific brainpower, was on its way to creating a rocket arsenal, one step away from being a nuclear power in the Middle East. Think of the hazard to the peace of the world that would occur from countries in the Middle East being nuclear powers. Such an event could plunge the whole world into an abyss.

As the Senator from New York speaks in support of the test ban treaty, on which the Senate will vote next Tuesday, what a wonderful thing it is that 160 nations all around the globe, in every hemisphere, have said, "We want to join in this agreement."

The Senator's points are well taken. In my judgment, he speaks with impeccable logic.

Mr. KEATING. I am grateful to the Senator from California.

ANNIVERSARY OF 1962 CUBA RESOLUTION

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I should like to refresh the memory of Senators that today marks an anniversary. One year ago today the Senate passed, with only one dissenting vote, a resolution expressing the determination of the Congress and the country with regard to the presence of a Soviet military establishment in Cuba. The resolution was signed by the President on October 3, 1962.

The controlling language of the resolution after the preamble provided as follows—and I stress that it was adopted with only one vote against it:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States is determined—

(a) to prevent by whatever means may be necessary including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere;

(b) to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States; and

(c) to work with the Organization of American States and with freedom-loving Cubans to support the aspirations of the Cuban people for self-determination.

We all remember that the resolution was worded with great care. A number of resolutions were introduced, but this is the one that was adopted. It was the expression of determination by the United States in formal language stated by Congress.

Now, a year later, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba has extended its subversive activities to every corner of the hemisphere and is working 24 hours a day in the effort to overthrow existing governments throughout Latin America. That relates to paragraph (a).

Although there is no threat to the territory of the United States itself right now, there is a very real threat to our continued hemispheric security in the efforts Castroist forces are making to overthrow the Governments of Venezuela, Peru, and Colombia and to infiltrate through the Jagan regime in British Guiana directly into Brazil. Surely the threat to U.S. security is just as real and a great deal closer than the threat in South Vietnam, where we are spending \$1 1/4 million a day to defeat communism.

As to paragraph (c), it is true that the United States has worked with the Organization of American States.

Instead of working with freedom-loving Cubans to achieve self-determination

for Cuba we have thwarted their efforts at many points. A State Department spokesman, in fact, recently told the American Legion Convention in Miami that the Cuba question was basically one that had to be solved by the Cubans—ignoring the thousands of Soviets in Cuba who are forcibly keeping the Cubans from doing just that.

In short, not one point of this resolution, which was debated and favorably reported by two Senate committees—the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services held joint hearings—passed with near unanimous approval by both Houses of Congress, has been effectively implemented in the last year. Today, 1 year from that time, the resolution is virtually unimplemented, except for the fact that the United States has been working with the Organization of American States. Meanwhile there is mounting evidence of Latin American concern over the Castro regime and over Castro's deliberate campaign to incite insurrection and violence in other countries.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed, following my remarks, a series of newspaper articles written by reliable reporters to document this trend of the increase in the inciting of insurrection and violence in other Latin American countries.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record (See exhibit 1.)

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the memories of some of us are short. The resolution passed by the Senate exactly a year ago today should serve to remind us all of the very wide gap that still exists between our objectives, our stated policies, our adopted resolution, and the hard realities in Cuba. There is still, as there was last fall, a pressing need to enforce policies we have already enunciated, before we find not only a Communist Cuba, but also a Communist Guiana, a Communist Haiti, a Communist Brazil, a Communist Colombia, a Communist Venezuela, or other Communist countries on our very doorsteps.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 20, 1963]

FEAR OF MILITARY COUP ALARMS VENEZUELIANS (By George Matheson)

CARACAS, September 19.—The threat of an imminent military uprising hangs heavily over Venezuela. People in the streets talk of little else and Caracas publications are expressing their concern with banner headlines.

Terrorist activity has mounted steadily in recent weeks. The armed forces, angered at the Government's apparent inability to halt the attacks, is widely believed to be planning to take matters into its own hands.

This view was bolstered today when the pro-Castro terrorists attacked an American-owned factory in downtown Caracas.

Six men armed with submachineguns, who identified themselves as members of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), destroyed by fire the plant and warehouses of the Du Pont Co. in an area lined by other business houses.

Earlier in the week the Government proudly announced the capture of two FALN

16718

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

September 20

Nobody, including the dedicated men involved, can pretend to say whether their emotional, surgical presentations can affect the present course of U.S. policy. This is an epoch, somewhat schizoid, in which the quest for power accommodation with the Russians has become obsessive. The plangent plea of caution keep the pace, at least outwardly, rather dignified and measured.

Soviet policy isn't deferred by our approach. It has been made up and implemented abroad for some time now. Let's get down to a few cases, as the men who make these assessments would say dryly. Take the wretched episode at Aguililla Key. Castro gunboats sealed off and invaded the heat-seared British-administered islet.

Our planes watched. Under orders, they did nothing. Onto Aguililla Key stormed a landing party. Their comrades trained anti-aircraft guns on watching U.S. aircraft. They even sent in a helicopter from one of the little warships.

So, 19 miles from Cuba were forcibly repatriated after a bald invasion of foreign territory. The incident—so melancholy in its utter insensitivity to human dignity and right—was Soviet conceived. The U.S.S.R., around the world, never ceases to try and bring back citizens who fled and want no more of the Soviet system.

The act at Aguililla Key, while successful from the Soviet operational point of view, was small potatoes. It proved one most useful point, though, to the vast and recast Soviet intelligence methods: that Cuba under its present regime is of untold value as a jumping-off spot for Latin America.

The biggest, proportionately, Soviet intelligence operation abroad is in Cuba today. Access is easier and more direct, as a result, with Soviet missions throughout Latin America. Every Russian mission in Latin America today is headed by a highly experienced intelligence officer.

The grim, old joke that the chauffeur in a Russian Embassy really ran the show has long since been interred with Stalin. Instead of using intelligence agents in covert and lower echelon levels, deliberate Soviet decision has placed them in No. 1 spots.

And not just in Latin America. This is now true in most of Asia and Africa. The objective is the same: seizing by subversion the regimes and, thereby, the markets of new countries. An underground apparatus and disaffected, ambitious politicians are all paid in the targets marked out by Soviet policy.

Some ultra-sophisticated people may say, loftily, that it doesn't sound very new. Well, it is and had better be recognized, because the Russians never before used intelligence operations on such a high level to strike for a given objective.

Maybe this remark from a highly gifted man, who holds glittering credentials, has a little impact:

"It's a life-and-death competition for the markets," he said, dry-smoking a filter cigarette. "There ought to be a lot more said about it. But that's not up to me."

Obviously, it's up to the top to see and shed some light on this deadly phase of co-existence.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 6, 1963]

JAPAN CALLS CONFERENCE TURNING POINT
(By Bertram E. Johanson)

British Guiana's Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan, with a wide-ranging ambivalence, is warning Britain his colony must soon obtain independence—or else.

The self-admitted Marxist Prime Minister told a press conference this past weekend that the territory conference expected to be held in London in October—where British Guiana independence may be considered—will determine whether the colony goes "a

la Khrushchev, a la Mao Tse-tung, a la Castro, or a la Jagan."

CUBAN POLICEMEN

Prime Minister Jagan is already showing a great attachment for Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro, who last week said the duty of revolutionaries is to "make" revolution all over Latin America.

Mr. Jagan told a press conference in Georgetown Saturday it was unrealistic for West Indian leaders to think of Caribbean unity without including Cuba, the biggest country in the region. "Such a large area cannot be ignored for long," he said.

On July 24, the Jagan government borrowed \$1,700,000 from the Guiana Import-Export Corp., a business concern which recently has done a brisk trade with Cuba and other Communist countries.

Government officials, according to Reuters, refused to comment on the purpose of the loan, as have officers of the corporation, which is dominated by Marxist Prime Minister Jagan's People's Progressive Party.

Sir Ralph Grey, British Guiana Governor, inspected the balance sheets of the corporation to ascertain its financial position after the Jagan government ignored his suggestion it first await possible British Government aid.

SOVIET GOODS IMPORTED

During the recent 11-week general strike staged by the Labor Confederation against a bill Mr. Jagan was trying to push through Parliament, the Prime Minister began importing Soviet oil from Cuba, on Soviet tankers, and Cuban rice. Much propaganda was made about the commodities saving British Guiana from chaos.

During the strike, two Cuban student organizers, of the type that have been deported from several Latin American countries, were extremely active in the Georgetown area among student groups.

Just as the strike was ending, 18 more Cubans, identified as aviation experts and technicians arrived to render what was termed assistance to widen activity of British Guiana Airways, which is alleged to have one 7-passenger plane.

There is concern in Washington circles about the possibility British Guiana may become a sluice gate for Castroite subversive traffic into South America and the rest of the hemisphere.

Havana radio has announced British Guiana has given landing rights to Cuban planes. The announcement followed shortly after the United States had complained to Britain about Cuban planes unloading potential subversive agents in the British-owned Grand Cayman Islands, 300 miles south of Cuba, for transfer to other airlines proceeding to Latin American points.

[From the New York Times, July 27, 1963]
CASTRO PLACES SOVIET SUPPORT FOR REVOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA

HAVANA, July 26.—Premier Fidel Castro called today for Cuban-style revolutions in Latin America.

"What has happened in Cuba could happen exactly the same way in many Latin American countries," he told a mass rally in Havana on the 10th anniversary of the attack on the Mowacha Barracks that ultimately put him into power in 1959.

He asserted that "all peoples who do what Cuba has done will have the support of the Soviet Union and Socialist [Communist] countries."

"More and better things which have been done in Cuba, can be done in Latin America," he added. "A million workers and peasants look to Cuba for hope and encouragement."

PACE IS TALKED OUT

Premier Castro asserted that Latin American revolutionaries insisted that "revolution could not be made by peaceful means."

He stressed that the way to revolution

"will not be opened by itself" and that revolutionaries themselves must open the way.

"Revolutionaries must not only learn theory," he advised. The Cuban leader attacked the United States-sponsored Alliance for Progress program of aid to Latin America, calling it "an aggressive instrument against Cuba destined to fail from the beginning."

He mentioned insistently Argentina, Peru, Colombia, and Guatemala as countries ripe for revolution. He described as a force the recent election in Argentina and sent "a fraternal message of admiration to Venezuelan patriots who are fighting against reaction."

Dr. Castro called President Romulo Betan-court of Venezuela "an imperialistic puppet" and predicted victory for the pro-Castro forces in Venezuela "sooner or later as in Algeria."

He proclaimed also "our fraternal salute" for pro-Castro groups in Guatemala.

However, Dr. Castro denied—as he has in the past—that Cuba was exporting its revolution.

In the case of Venezuela, he asserted, "when patriots needed money and arms they took them away from the soldiers and imperialists."

He added that ideas cannot be stopped and that Cuba was a "source of light for Latin American Indians and peasants."

UNITED STATES ACCUSES OF REBELLION

Miami, July 26.—Premier Fidel Castro charged today that the United States had reneged in the deal to obtain the freedom of the Bay of Pigs invasion prisoners.

"We accuse the American Government of not complying with its agreement and that it owes us \$10 million," the Cuban Premier told a mass rally in Havana.

Dr. Castro said in a broadcast heard here that the price agreed upon for the more than 1,000 prisoners taken in the 1961 invasion was \$50 million but that only \$40 million in goods had been paid.

The final installment was delivered to Cuba last month by the American Red Cross. The U.S. Government approved the deal but did not sponsor it.

[From the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, July 20, 1963 (Free Cuba News)]

COLOMBIA RIVALS VENEZUELA AS CASTRO TARGET

Colombia appears to be rivaling Venezuela as an embattled target of Castro-Communist subversion, judging by increasing guerrilla activity in that Andean country.

On July 15, a group of Colombians who had recently returned from indoctrination courses in Cuba launched guerrilla attacks at Jamundi and El Carrizo, Departments of Valle. A Colombian Army patrol engaged the guerrillas, killed five and wounded two, and confiscated considerable material of a revealing character.

Included in the confiscated matter were "Che" Guevara's guerrilla warfare manual; a mimeographed "10 Commandments of Guerrilla Warfare" abbreviated from the manual; instructions for making bombs capable of destroying bridges and trains; and a rubber stamp with the legend "Chief of Staff of the Revolutionary Army, Victory or Death." Also found were Cuban newspapers, Colombian pro-Castro magazines, a book called "We Organize the Revolution in Colombia," by the Communist Party head, Othmaro Viera White, and maps of western Colombia and other regions where new guerrilla actions are vividly planned.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, July 18, 1963]

CUBAN FIGHTERS NOT UNITED STATES TARGET

There is a fascinating bit of spyplay in the Caribbean involving United States-British relations.